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NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

PART I.

[778] THE Tongans, in common with other Polynesian peoples, have a fairly elaborate theogony, narrating the birth of great gods of Sky, Earth, Sea, and Underworld; who are in their turn, in varying degree, responsible for Tonga and the adjacent island groups, i.e., the known world. In the beginning there seem to have existed the sea and the spirit-world, Bulotu. In this primordial ocean sea-weed and soil came together and floated away to Bulotu, but thereafter separated. Between them appeared a rock called Touia-a-Futuna, of which were born four pairs of twins, male and female, named respectively Biki (Sticky, Adhesive) and Kele (Soil); Atungaki (Thrown by the hand) and Maimoa-a-Longona (Plaything of Longona); Fonu-uta (Land Turtle) and Fonu-vai (Sea Turtle); and Hemoana (Sea Wanderer) and Lube (Dove). Hemoana is a well-known deity found in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*) of whose origin another account is also given, [776] [825] associating him more particularly with the island of Eua. This will be referred to subsequently. Each pair of twins, with the exception of Hemoana and Lube, married within itself, and begot progeny. The first child of Biki and Kele was a son, Taufulifonua (Oversetter of Lands, or War the Oversetter of Lands), followed later by a daughter, Havea-lolo-fonua (Havea of the Underworld). The second and third pair of twins begot each a daughter, named respectively Vele-lahi (Great Desire?) and Vele-jii (Little Desire?). At this point in the story intervenes the creation by unrecorded means of a land Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), by Biki and Kele as a home for their two children, Taufulifonua and Havea-lolofonua, to whom was born the important deity Hikuleo (probably Echo). Tradition is not quite certain as to whether Hikuleo were a god or goddess, but the general suffrage seems in favour of the female sex. The two other females of this generation, Vele-lahi and Vele-jii, were also mated with Taufulifonua, and became the mothers respectively of Tangaloa and Maui. Tongan tradition speaks of four Tangaloa, namely, Tama-bouli-ala-mafoa (Child of the Dark when Dawn is near), Eitumatubua, Tangaloa-tufunga (Tangaloa the Craftsman) and Tangaloa Atulongolongo.

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Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, Tangaloa Atulongolongo being the member of the family spoken of as paying such visits.

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui), and Maui Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from a woman in Vavau he raised the sky to its present elevation. Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role, in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye. Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye. In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Sinailele, of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend mentions also another Maui, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people. To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans.

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778 823 In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki (Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop. At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

778 Later Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Underworld and settled at Koloa in Vavau, where a temple of Maui stood up to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite consistent at this point. Atalanga married a woman of Vavau, whom one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavau, and various other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of the position of the Vavau of myth has an interest and difficulty not unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear, in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawau), "There is reason for thinking that Vavau in the Friendly Islands is not the mythological Vavau or Wawau; the name has been localised anew all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to 565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially [794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane [771] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and [643] particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefliness, of which [781] the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing [776] sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe. Chiefliness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a 776 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were [778] worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

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from gods of populous tribes down to deities the private possession of a very few. Naturally, the gods of which one is best able to glean information are those whose devotees were fairly numerous. At the best all that we can get to-day is probably only a glimpse at the old pantheon. But this remnant is doubtless typical, and furnishes a fair idea of the beliefs of old Tonga, as well as interesting parallels with other parts of Polynesia.

The apparatus of worship consisted of a temple, apparently in some instances situated amongst trees just outside the village. Too much must not be made of this, however, as the villages which one sees to-day are of modern growth, and in earlier days the population was more scattered. There was at least one sacred grove. In the temples were kept sacred objects, such as war weapons, stones, pieces of wood, more or less roughly carved, and often painted with yellow turmeric. Several fine mats were indispensable, carefully preserved to be spread for the reception of the visiting god in the same way as a household brings out its good mats for a distinguished mortal visitor. At times of worship these mats were spread, and the priest sat either on or beside them, whilst the sacred objects of the temple were displayed on the mats, particularly, if possible, the animal or what not which was specially sacred to the god to whom the appeal was being made. The role of the totem was to act as a vehicle whereby the god might bring himself into physical relation with the material surroundings of human life. The Tongan words used to express the presence of the god in the object sacred to him signifies his "coming in" it, or "using it as a boat." These material objects are seldom, most probably never, the god himself. This, however, is by now so much a commonplace as scarcely to need restatement in the case of any particular people. Not less was the god actually present in the inspired priest. Evidently there were others outside of the regular priesthoods who were liable to inspirations. To the present day some forms of sickness are believed to be due to demonic possession. So far as my personal observation in Tonga goes possession seems now to be always maleficent, but a native connected by blood with Fiji affirms that in that group there are exemplary and devout Christians who receive helpful accessions of divine influence from sources not usually included in any scheme of orthodox theology.

There were priests or priestesses connected with the various cults, who acted as the mouthpieces of the gods, and whose frenzied inspiration seems to have been the really important part of the divine manifestation. There are asserted to have been deities without any sacred animal or other object, but the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The trembling body, foaming mouth, and wild eyes of

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the inspired priest have been more than once described. Very few contemporary Tongans have witnessed the performance, but I have been fortunate enough to hear from a very intelligent elderly chief a graphic description of the inspiration of a priest which he witnessed in his boyhood. This was in one of the last retreats of the old worship, and the wild awe of the scene, enhanced by the darkness of night, and a double row of lights at the end of which the priest sat, looking down a lane flanked on either hand by fire, has left an indelible impression on the old gentleman's mind. Amongst other things he noted the voracious appetite of the priest, who was a Fijian of ordinary stature, but who, under the influence of the divine frenzy devoured a great bunch of bananas or plantains. The native theory is that the inspiring god in some way eats the food. Another extraordinary circumstance was the manner of his speech. Usually this Fijian spoke bad Tongan in a small weak voice, but during his inspiration his voice was rich and full, and his utterances couched in eloquent and faultless Tongan, "like a Belehake," as the native idiom has it.

The appetite of the priest, to which the natives nowadays sometimes make caustic reference, seems to have been a fairly constant factor or inspiration, but presents of food, an indispensable accompaniment of a ceremonious visit to a chief, would naturally be taken by worshippers waiting on their god. *Kava*, always presented to a chief on a ceremonial occasion, was also taken to the gods. The initial rite of worship was a *kava* drinking. A ceremonial *kava* drinking is a presentation to some person, usually the greatest chief in the gathering. If a number of people pay a visit to a chief they take *kava* to him, some of which will be prepared and drunk then and there, though all may not share in it. The visiting party and the chief to whom the visit is made, with his retainers, will drink together, precedence in drinking being strictly observed in accordance with rank, although the order is not a merely numerical one; for example, the third bowl is very commonly the most chiefly of all, and even further down, the fifth or seventh, etc., may take precedence of those earlier in the list. The due ordering of these matters is one of the things in which the chiefs' *matabules*, or gentlemen attendants, are expected to possess expert knowledge. Another prized qualification of a *matabule* is a full clear voice with which to call, in a kind of loud intonation, the person to whom the bowl is to be taken, the number of baskets of food presented, to whom the several portions are to be taken when the distribution is made, and the like matters. The chief to whom the *kava* drinking is a presentation is marked by his having the most chiefly bowl, commonly, though not always, the third, taken to him to drink, and a slight change in the words with which the *matabule* calls that bowl. In the case of the *kava* drinking with which

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a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I obtained possession of several of the cups used on that occasion, but unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication. Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the *kava* is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward, that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satisfactorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition, exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

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753 784 [797] 755 [776] Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the range of functions was generally very wide.

782 755 Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw, and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were [601] the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over 782 which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier 755 generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an 178 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of observation.

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From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augumentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the

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period of which we have information totemism has given way to a more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about with *tabus*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food, and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabus*, the prohibition of the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan, though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes, as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage, taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother, in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail. He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea, screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the face by the dove's head. In her chargin at this disfigurement she abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the

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mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship. Something more will be said later about the individual gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them. Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest. In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an informant able to supplement his previous information. There are also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

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II.—INDIVIDUAL GODS.

Bulotu Katoa. Bulotu was the Tongan Paradise. As already related its chief deity was Hikuleo, but it was the home also of spirits of the departed, evidently only of chiefs and great people, to whom perhaps some sort of worship was paid. Sometimes one hears of a being called Tui Bulotu, i.e., King of Bulotu, but of him I have been able to learn nothing. Mariner calls him a minor god of the sea and of voyages, and protector of Finau's family. Tuivakano, the Premier of Tonga, suggests that some of the gods mentioned by Mariner are really the illustrious dead. In spite of the name Tui Bulotu there does not seem any reason to disturb the sovereignty of Hikuleo in Bulotu, home of wondrous plenty, of the life-giving water, Vai-Ola, Water of Life, into which the spirits of the dead seem to have been dipped to restore them to life and the power of enjoying the delights of their paradise, and of other marvels.

Bulotu Katoa, i.e., the whole of Bulotu, was the grandiloquent name of a great deity whose principal shrine was at Boha, in the eastern part of Tongatabu. This eastern district, though not now the seat of the capital, is the chiefly centre of the ancient polity, the residence of the Tui Tonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, and other great lords. To Bulotu Katoa the whole of Tonga resorted, the Tui Tonga alone staying at home. I have heard him spoken of as the god of the great warrior chiefs, the Tui Kanokupolu, who in process of time and change supervening on the coming of the European have displaced the Tui Tonga, but the real position seems rather to have been that whoever for the time being was most powerful, whether the Tui Kanokupolu or another chief, took the lead in national supplication to this great god, to avert the calamities of hurricane, drought, and famine. As a matter of fact Kuku, a very ancient and blue-blooded chief, was most intimately associated with the worship of Bulotu Katoa, and two related chiefs, Tamale (the present holder of this title has given me the best information about this and many other matters; his repute as a depository of ancient lore is probably more widely recognised than that of any living Tongan), and Ma'olo distributed the offerings brought to the god. The name of the priest was Takahi. When *kava* was presented to Bulotu Katoa the Tui Kanokupolu sat with the ring of outsiders at a distance from the *kava* bowl and the leaders of the ceremony.

The dog was the sacred animal of this god, and during his worship a dog lay at the side of the priest. It was customary to use the word *kuli* (dog) in names of Nuku's family. There is a proverbial expression pretty closely parallel to our English "Let sleeping dogs lie," which is said to have had its first application to the dog of Bulotu Katoa.

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This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst. Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the hard wood called *ngeji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try his strength on this second building, but though he employed his greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his every attempt.

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa. In course of time Taufaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu Katoa to slay Taufaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaahau then worshipped, was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians.

(To be continued.)

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NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. Collocot.

PART II.

TUI Haafakafonua. This god is identified with Moso in Samoa and Tutumatua in Fiji. His Tongan habitat was Maofanga, a village near Nukualofa. When the native cults were still living Maofanga enjoyed the reputation of special sanctity. There was here a chiefly burial ground, and the house of refuge of Tui Haafakafonua was justly famous. Many, if not all, of the gods had evidently their places of sanctuary, but some were not able to afford much protection to the fugitive from vengeance; they were *tutulu*, literally, leaky, but others were not leaky, and once within their precincts the guilty man was safe. Of these non-leaky sanctuaries that of Tui Haafakafonua was one of the most famous.

Fakafonua is the chief of Maofanga, and Haa-Fakafonua means the tribe or clan of Fakafonua. Tui Haa-Fakafonua means the king of the tribe of Fonua, the name suggesting a close connection with the tribal organisation. The sacred animal of this god was a lizard, and for the convenience of his departure, and presumably arrival, a tree or post was always provided for him to crawl along. A handy post or tree-stump was a regular part of his temple furnishings. At the end of a seance the priest clapped his hand on the post, and, evidently speaking as the god, said to the worshippers "Good-bye," and then evidently speaking as the priest to the god, again said "Good-bye," using a very high chiefly term. The people, too, using this same word, also bade the departing deity good-bye. In the native tongue of course these good-byes are very different terms as addressed to those who are going away or to those who are remaining.

It was the priest of this god whose inspiration Tamale witnessed as a boy. Tui Haa-Fakafonua used to appear in a pond in Maofanga, and was noted for his fondness for the ladies who used to become sick by bathing in the sacred water. It was this god to whom I referred previously as having heard that women became pregnant by bathing in his pond. Although this is not absolutely verified it seems a not unlikely detail.

Mofuta-ae-ta'u. This deity, whose name seems literally to mean the "Proud Boastfulness of the Season," was the god of Tamale, the chief of Niutoua, in Eastern Tongatabu, who was also intimately

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connected with the wider worship of Bulotu Katoa. The sacred animal of Mofuta-ae-ta'u was a great sea-eel (Toke), who dwelt in an opening of the reef opposite the village. This deity resented anyone's appearance on the beach near his abode with the head bound with a turban, or whitened with lime. Should anyone so disregard the eel's feelings as thus to appear in the forbidden area he would be taken off to the hole in the rock where the god lived. It is related of one unlucky wight who so offended that he was born off by the enraged god, but five days later, when his friends and relatives ashore had finished celebrating his obsequies, he suddenly appeared amongst them, not, however, his old, good-looking self, for the eel-god had plucked every hair from his head.

A small fish called the *vete* was regarded as the girdle of Mafuta-ae-ta'u, it being asserted that a shoal of *vete* surrounded the great eel like a leaf-girdle. A similar statement is made about another fish and one of the shark-gods, to be mentioned later. The eating of the *vete* was not forbidden, but it was *tabu* for the chief Tamale to go down to the beach on the days when it appeared. Should he neglect this precaution of keeping out of the way (probably within doors) the *vete* would disappear. Restrictions of this sort are not confined to Tamale.

The father of the present Tamale adopted Christianity, and burnt the temple of his god. Its furniture included fine mats, weapons of war, and carefully wrought pieces of wood painted with tumeric. Probably this is a representative collection of temple treasures.

Taufa is another god of the chiefly eastern end of Tongatabu, associated particularly with the great Tui Haatakalaua chief Tungi and his family. The Tungi chieftainship is comparatively late, but the title is now borne by the Tui Haatakalaua, one of the oldest and proudest names of the Tongan nobility. The special domain of Taufa was a large district called Ahau, including several important modern villages, in the east of Tongatabu, but the name is more familiar now as that of a village at the other end of the island. One of the most widely used names of the hero-king, George Tubou I., Taufa-ahau, is said to be derived from the name of this god and his district. In childhood the king was cured of a serious illness by Taufa, and thereafter bore the name Taufa-ahau. This name was previously unknown in his family, but has since been perpetuated. Taufa had a famous sanctuary. It is related that, during a time of war, Niukapu, a chief of very ancient lineage, fled from his foes and gained this house of refuge. His enemies thereupon slew a man, and, with appropriate accompaniments, presented him as an offering to the god. The priest Kautae, thinking it shame that a man who claimed sanctuary with him should perish, slew his own daughter and gave her to the waiting warriors, thus ransoming Niukapu. Tamale, who related this, spoke of Kautae as having given his own life to Niukapu's

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foes, and it is said of priests that it is better that they themselves should die than that one who has taken refuge with them should perish. Niukapu in gratitude to his deliverer told Kautae to take his pick of a piece of land, but the priest instead asked Niukapu for his *kava*, which means that in *kava* ceremonies Kautae has the right to demand that the cup intended for Niukapu should be brought to him. This practice is not very uncommon. There is an old gentleman in the island of Haano, in Haapai, who, although not a chief himself, has the right to demand the *kava* of a considerable number of chiefs on the ground of their descent from his family.

Taufa is both a sea and a land god. In the sea he is manifested as the shark, and is called Taufa-tahi, i.e., Taufa of the Sea. On land he bore the name Taufa-uta, i.e., Taufa of the Land, but had no separate sacred animal. In fact, Taufa-tahi and Taufa-uta cannot be considered as two distinct manifestations of the god. Taufa was the god, his totem was the shark, and he had his shrines ashore in which he spoke through his priest. The name most commonly applied to him is Taufa-tahi. Taufa's shark seems to have been a mythical sea monster. Near Mua, the chief village in eastern Tongatabu, is a place in the sea, where it is asserted that on calm days white mounds, like the mounds heaped up over the graves of the dead, can be seen beneath the water. This spot is called Taufa's cemetery, and here the god, in the form of an exceedingly white shark, might be sometimes seen.

Taufa was a notable protector of gardens. To secure the services of the god the husbandman had simply to plait a coconut-leaf in the semblance of a shark, and hang it up in his plantation. This placed the garden under a *tabu* that none would dare to violate. It is said that after the introduction of Christianity a man had the hardihood to thrust his hand in mockery into one of these *tabu* signs; but the moribund deity was not to be insulted with impunity, and soon afterwards the sacrilegious violator, whilst bathing in the sea, had both his arms bitten off by a shark. It is interesting to notice that the priestly succession has been maintained to the present day, and a Kautae is still regularly appointed.

Tuiini Tubou is the god of the Tui Kanokupolu, whose title is now assumed by the constitutional ruler of Tonga. Even before the advent of Christianity real power was gradually passing out of the hands of the Tui Tonga into those of more active lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu, who was in any case a very high chief. Tubou, the royal title of the Tui Kanokupolu appears in the name of the god. Kanokupolu is itself a small village in the west of Tongatabu, but the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship has long been a much more important thing than king of this little village would seem to imply, but the real moment of the name Kanokupolu itself must doubtless be sought elsewhere. Kupolu

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is a widely distributed Polynesian place name. As the capital of the modern kingdom Nukualofa is of course the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu; but the connection between this chieftainship and Nukualofa is of longer standing than merely since the establishment of Christianity. The ancient Nukualofa was much smaller than the present town, which includes within its boundaries a number of family groups who inhabited areas whose names and locations are still known.

The sacred object of Taliai Tubou is a large black volcanic pebble, roughly oval in shape, now in the possession of the Wesleyan College, Nukualofa. This stone is called Tui Ahau, i.e., King of Ahau. Its headquarters were probably Kolovai, the largest town in western Tongatabu, and the home of Ata, the head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of Ngata), to which the Tui Kanokupolu belongs. Ahio was originally the head of this tribe, but his influence waned by a process similar to that by which the Tui Tonga's prestige diminished.

Besides the Tui Ahau in Nukualofa there is lying on the ground in Kolovai another stone of the same kind, which enjoys a sort of twin sanctity, and is reputed to possess the power, rather unusual in a stone, of bringing forth little pebbles. The natives who led me to see the stone narrated this curious circumstance with perfect gravity, but search failed to reveal any of the fruits of petrine propagation.

These stones are of a sort not found on the coral islands of the group, and were perhaps brought from one or other of the two volcanic mountains in Huapai, Tofua and Kao.

Bekebeka-a-Tama, a flying-fox god, belonging originally to Ula, a *matabule* (minor chief, or rather, great gentleman-attendant of a chief) of Ahau, a village near Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, but now transferred to Ata of Kolovai. The actual god seems to be a purely mythical flying-fox, whose appearance is an omen of disaster to Ata. Bekabeka-a-tama is distinguished from the rank and file of flying-foxes (*beka*) by his white colour, but I know of no one who claims ever to have seen him.* In Kolovai are several casuarina trees on which the flying-foxes are protected by a *tabu*, and which are covered with the rather noisome little creatures. One or two great chiefs, however, have the right of shooting them on the prohibited trees. If one falls from the trees to the ground it is free of the *tabu*, and may be picked up and taken away. Rumour avers that the modern small boy's awe of the *tabu* is not sufficient to deter him from trying the effect of a surreptitious missile. Should the flying-foxes desert their trees Ata must make *kava* for them and so entice them home again.

* Ata has since told me that he has several times seen a white flying-fox, most recently within the last two or three years.

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Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony.

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*, but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the *fuhu*.

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-fumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, and of Kioa, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The clans of Motua-buaka and Kioa, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland. When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature.

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with

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complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell (*bulo*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga, but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or *vesi*, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the Fulefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured, are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

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god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.

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825 613 644 779 The *kanahe* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fainga'a, *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui, and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of 773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to 825 him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any 784 man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with 262 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is concerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 776 773 The *veka* (rail) was the god of Manumua, a chief on the island of Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-vee-valu (Eight-legged-heron), a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that Motuku-vee-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of Tongatabu before the present Haa-Ngata lords. This, if true, is a 825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story [773] of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tonga- [794] tabu. Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about [773] with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the beautiful Vae.

[644] [55] The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in a heavy rain.

825 843 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 [787] The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

[643] Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uiha in Haapai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George Tubou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akaua in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

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been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilau comforted him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless he opened his mouth very wide.

Toki-langa-fonua, a great god of Eua, went to appear in a shark, called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates that Toki-langa-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded him throughout the journey. This shark was not an ordinary fish, but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore. It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark, though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of Tui-fai-ana.

Toki-langa-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their father Hemoana and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's identity.

The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing, the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to the noose at close quarters.

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Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237 778

Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776 [823] 782

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made, to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776] [782]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the demesne of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776 [821] 133 776 [822] [824] [778]

Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776 191

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She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tiniran, in a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with Jiuilau has been mentioned above.

The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god, Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika (Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-kolou and Tama-tangkia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanua (Land). She had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina, in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two other rocks or reefs.

Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another appearance of Hina.

The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King, or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there within the memory of living men.

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There is a tradition that an early Tui Tofua was about to kill his son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into one of the great man-eating sharks called *tenifa*. A Samoan on board, not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) to the Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Niua Fo'ou, one of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a lake in an old crater in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Niua Fo'ou were three in number, namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*). Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. Bunga (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son discovered him. Bunga was overcome by that hero in a wrestling match. This Bunga was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants, and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Niua Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a framework which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of the two northern groups have well understood relations with Tongatabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian, and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

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of later date. The Maui stories may indicate a later wave of immigration. If the Vavau of myth could be identified, at least as far as the Tongan islands are concerned, with the present Vavau in the north of the group, it may be the stopping-place of a wave of Polynesian settlers who found the southern parts of the group already occupied by earlier Polynesian immigrants, or by non-Polynesian people. It is evident that free communication with Fiji is of old date. Various relationships with Fiji are manifest. The language shows layers or words which have come by way of Fiji, of which some have undergone the orthodox morphological modification, and some have not. Possibly the whole question will never be capable of other than conjectural solution. In concluding this very important note on Tongan religion I desire to express my obligations to Tangi, the Tui Haa-takalaua and Consort of Queen of Tonga, to Tuivakano, the Premier, to the chiefs Ata, Ahome'e, and Tamale, to the Revs. J. Havea, J. Taufa, H. Talia, and E. Tubou, all of the Methodist Mission, to Buleti, Havili, Fatai and many others who have gladly given such information as they were able about matters of which the recollection is fast fading. I have constantly used also the valuable, but all too small, collection of material in the late Dr. Moulton's Magazine, of which a large part was written by the late David Tonga. I desire also to express my obligations to the Rev. R. O. G. Pope, Chairman of the Methodist Mission, and to Mr. E. W. Gifford, of the University of California, who visited Tonga under the auspices of the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, from August 1920, to May, 1921.